

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----019255 121224Z /42

R 121040Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5050
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANA
USUN NEW YORK 548

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOGADISCIO 1169

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SO, US, TC, ET, GW, EG, SA, SU, UK, UR, KE, FR, IT, YE
SUBJECT: THE HORN -- MEETING WITH EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR ABDEL AZIZ
KHAIRAT

1. MET WITH KHAIRAT AT HIS REQUEST JULY 11 FOR DISCUSSION CURRENT
SITUATION IN HORN.

2. DURING HIS FEB/MAY CONVERSATIONS IN CAIRO, SADAT, FAHMI
AND RIYAD LEFT KHAIRAT WITH FIRM IMPRESSION THAT SIAD AND VICE
PRES. SAMANTAR'S BONA FIDES OPEN SERIOUS QUESTIONS. EGYPTIAN
LEADERSHIP AT THAT TIME WERE CONCLUDING FROM FORMER EGYPTIAN
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AMBASSADOR TO SOMALIA (ABDEL AZEL GAMIL) END OF MISSION REPORT
THAT SIAD WAS "LIAR" AND TOTALLY COMMITTED TO RUSSIAN VERSION
INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. KHAIRAT SAID HE NOT CONVINCED
AND REQUESTED EGYPTIAN MOFA AWAIT HIS ANALYSIS (KHAIRAT AT AGE
51, A TWENTY-ONE YEAR CAREER VETERAN WITH LENGHTY SERVICE IN USSR
AND BULGARIA -- HIS RUSSIAN STILL FLUENT).

3. AT CONCLUSION HIS MAY CONSULTATIONS IN CAIRO SIAD RECEIVED SIAD (WHO THERE FOR AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT FOR TETE-A-TETE WITHOUT SOMALI ADVISORS PRESENT). KHAIRAT ALSO HAD UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITIES MEET AND TALK

WITH SIAD PRIVATELY IN HIS HOTEL WITHOUT PRESENCE OTHER SOMALI DELEGATION MEMBERS. ON EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE MAY 28 SIAD INFORMED KHAIRAT INDIRECTLY THAT HE CONVINCED THAT SIAD AND MOST MEMBERS HIS GOVT ARE FAITHFUL ADHERERS ISLAM, PASTORAL DEMOCRATS (TRIBALISTS), MEMBERS ARAB LEAGUE IN GOOD STANDING, SOMALI NATIONALISTS FIRST AND FINALLY LUKE-WARM SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST POSTULANTS. KHAIRAT FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT SIAD MAY IN EARLIER DAYS REVOLUTION BEEN WAVERING ON WHETHER SOMALIA'S NATIONALISM COMES BEFORE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. HE NOW BELIEVES -- AFTER SEVEN MONTHS HERE -- THAT SOMALIS ARE MASTERS OF POSITIVE ART OF MANIPULATION AND ONLY CHOOSE THOSE ASPECTS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM TO DEVELOP THEIR RESOURCES. UNDER PRESSURE FROM THEIR SOVIET CATHECHISTS SDR LEADERS HAD GONE TO DANGEROUS LENGTHS TO OBTAIN FROM THE RUSSIANS WHAT THEY PERCEIVED TO BE THEIR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. IN SUM KHAIRAT ASSURED ME THAT EGYPTIAN LEADERSHIP CONCLUDING THAT SIAD IS A FAITHFUL NOMADIC ARAB AND NOT A MEMBER OF ANY PCS (PARTY COMMUNIST SOMALI) IF SUCH PARTY

DOES IN FACT EXIST.

4. CAIRO RECOGNIZES THAT THERE ARE COMMUNISTS WITHIN--AND PERHAPS WITHOUT--SDR LEADERSHIP. THEY ARE EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT
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NEITHER
SAMANTAR NOR ANY OTHER VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE SDR ARE IN RUSSIAN POCKETS. KHAIRAT IS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT SIAD AND HIS FELLOW MARAHAM TRIBESMEN (WHO HAVE NOW BEEN PLACED IN EVERY IMPORTANT CIVILIAN AND MILITARY POSITION) ARE IN CONTROL OF INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL DISSIDENT MOVEMENTS.

5. MILITARY SITUATION - IN DJIBOUTI, KHAIRAT CONCLUDES THAT SDR QUERILLA ACTION CUTTING THE ADDIS/DJIBOUTI RAILWAY WAS DESIGNED IMPRESS MENGISTU THAT SOMALIS IN COMMAND THEIR OWN DESTINY AND NOT SUBJECT USSR DIRECTION. ALSO THAT FRENCH DECISION TO CONTINUE MILITARY PRESENCE IN DJIBOUTI HAS COMPLETE APPROVAL OF SIAD AND IS VIEWED BY THE SDR LEADERSHIP AS A STABILIZING FACTOR.

6. SOMALI SHIFTA INVOLVEMENT IN KENYA WAS BADLY HANDLED. IN KHAIRAT'S VIEW, SIAD WAS SO PREOCCUPIED WITH THE OGADEN AND SEEKING ALTERNATIVE ARM SOURCES THAT THE SITUATION GOT OUT OF HAND. DURING SAME PERIOD SIAD HEAVILY INVOLVED WITH BATTERY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS (PRESENTLY DIE ZEIT, US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, AP AND UPI). KHAIRAT HAS THOROUGHLY REVIEWED ALL SIAD'S RECENT PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS AND ARTICLES AND INTERVIEWS GRANTED TO MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES. HE CONVINCED SIAD ORCHESTRATING CAREFULLY

CONCEIVED PRESS CAMPAIGN PUT BEST LIGHT ON SOMALIA. KHAIRAT BELIEVES THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE OGADEN PROBLEM REMAINS SIAD'S MAJOR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE. HE FEELS SIAD PROCEEDING WITH GREAT DEAL CAUTION AND AN INCREASING CONFIDENCE (BASED ON SIAD'S ANALYSIS) THAT USSR HAS MADE GRIEVOUS ERROR IN HORN. KHAIRAT CONCLUDES THAT SIAD'S CAUTION STEMS FROM SAUDI ARABIA'S AS YET UNKNOWN PRE-CONDITIONS FOR MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR MILITARY ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS SIAD'S PERCEPTIONS US POSITION IN HORN MORE PARTICULARLY US ACQUIESCENCE IN OR SUPPORT OF ARMS TRANSFER FROM US, EUROPEAN OR "OTHER" ALLIES. KHAIRAT BELIEVES SIAD'S CURRENT TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA MAY BE CRITICAL WITH POSITIVE OUTCOME PERMITTING HIM MAKE "HISTORICAL DECISION" REFERRED TO IN KUWAIT'S 3522. KHAIRAT INTERRUPTED AT THIS POINT ASKING ME CONFIRM/DENY RUMORS CIRCULATING IN MOGADISCIO THAT SIAD WILL GO ON TO
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WASHINGTON. I DISABUSED AMBASSADOR ON A SIAD TRIP TO WASHINGTON WITH ALACRITY.

7. AMBASSADOR DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SOMALIS HAVE DECIDED ON AN EGYPTIAN MAY 15 DATE. IN HIS VIEW THE SOMALIS ARE UNABLE TO DECIDE HOW AND WHEN THEY WILL DISENGAGE FROM THE RUSSIAN CONNECTION. AT THE MOMENT HE BELIEVES THAT THE SOMALIS ARE TRYING TO KEEP THE USSR CONFUSED UNTIL THE SDR IS ASSURED OF ALTERNATIVE ARMS SUPPLIES.

8. ETHIOPIA SURROUNDED BY LIBERATION FRONTS - KHAIRAT ATTRIBUTED WHAT FOLLOWS TO SIAD AND AHMED SULEIMAN DIRECTLY. BOTH TOLD HIM IN RECENT, SEPERATE CONVERSATIONS THAT SOMALIA WAS "ALLIED WITH THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (ERRP), WERE DIVERTING ARMS AND 2 MILLION SOMALI SHILLINGS PER DAY TO

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----019445 121248Z /40
R 121040Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5051

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANA
USUN NEW YORK 549

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EXDIS

THE EPRP LIBERATION FRONT. THE SOMALIS HAD ALSO LOOKED WITH GREAT FAVOR ON ARAB SUPPORT -- PARTICULARLY SUDANESE -- TO THE ETHIOPIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION). HOWEVER THE SOMALIS WERE CURRENTLY SERIOUSLY DISTURBED BY WHAT THEY PERCEIVED TO BE "WESTERN PRESSURES" ATTEMPTING TO INTERDICT ARAB SUPPRT TO EDU.

9. I ASKED KHAIRAT HOW HE EQUATED SOMALI INVOLVEMENT WITH PURELY MARXIST EPRP AND EGYPTIAN PERCEPTIONS SOMALI AS PURELY NATIONAL STATE. HE SAID THAT FROM TALKS WITH VICE PRES. AHMED SULEIMAN SOMALIS ATTEMPTING "TO USE" EPRP FOR THEIR OWN ENDS; WHEN FINAL ERITREAN INDEPENDENCE CLEARLY ON HORIZON, SOMALIS WILL DO WHATEVER REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE DISSOLUTION OF EPRP.

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10. CUBANS - AHMED SULEIMAN TOLD HIM THAT SOMALI INTELLIGENCE RESOURCES HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THERE NOW 2,500 CUBAN MILITARY ADVISORS IN ETHIOPIA. MANY HAVE BEEN KILLED IN BATTLES IN THE OGADEN. SULEIMAN SAID WITH CONVICTION, "WE DO NOT CARE IF THERE ARE 20,000 CUBANS IN ETHIOPIA; WE ARE ABLE AND PREPARED GIVE THEM LESSON AND DEMONSTRATE TO ALL AFRICAN NATIONS THAT OUTSIDE SUPER-POWER CANNOT INDISCRIMINATELY USE OTHERS PURSUE RUSSIAN GOALS THIS CONTINENT". SULEIMAN REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO ANGOLA.

11. CASUALTIES - SULEIMAN TOLD HIM THAT HOSPITALS IN HARGEISA (INCREASINGLY IN MOGADISCIO) WERE HARD PRESSED CARE FOR SOMALI WOUNDED GUERRILLAS. DOCTORS AND NURSES WERE ADEQUATE BUT MEDICINES AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES IN SHORT SUPPLY. SULEIMAN SAID WHILE FORE-- GOING DISTURBING SOMALIS BELIEVE THAT ETHIOPIAN LOSSES FAR GREATER: TEN TO ONE.

12 TURNING TO UNITED STATES, KHAIRAT ASKED WHETHER WE HAD

DECIDED NOW PROCEED REPLY SOMALI REQUESTS FOR US INVOLVEMENT IN ARMS TRANSFERS FROM THE WEST OR OTHR ALLIES. I TOLD HIM OUR BASIC PREFERENCE IS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE; ON ARMS TRANSFER, SUBJECT UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW AND STUDY.

13. KHAIRAT THEN ALLUDED TO OUR JULY 4 RECEPTION WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY TEN SENIOR SOMALIS, SOMETHING WHICH HAD NEVER OCCURED IN RECENT MEMORY. NOT ONLY THAT BUT THE FOUR MINISTERS PRESENT HAD REMAINED FOR A FULL TWO HOURS - A POINT WHICH WAS BEING WIDELY ACCLAIMED THROUGHOUT DIPCORPS AS CLEAR SIGNAL SIAD'S INTENTIONS. I REPLIED THAT CAMEL CURTAINS LIKE IRON CURTAINS ARE PART OF STAGECRAFT.

14. KHAIRAT SAID ALL HIS ARAB COLLEAGUES HAD BEEN SUMMONED TO HEAR THE SOMALIS ON THE PRESENCE OF ISRAELI MIRAGE JETS OPERATING
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IN ETHIOPIA. HE HAD AS YET NO WORD FROM CAIRO.

15. HE CONCLUDED BY TELLING ME THAT HIS ARAB, SOMALI SOURCES HAVE CONVINCED HIM USSR EMBASSY'S OPEN ACCESS TO DEFENSE AND OTHER MINISTRIES NOW SERIOUSLY CURTAILED THOUGH NOT STOPPED. IN CASE SOMALIA'S DEFENSE MINITRY, WRITTEN AUTHORIZATION NOW REQUIRED FOR ANY RUSSIAN, INCLUDING AMBASSADOR SAMSONOV, TO CALL.

16. I ASKED KHAIRAT IF HE COULD CONFIRM OR DENY INFORMATION WE HAD RECEIVED THAT EGYPT HAD UNDERTAKEN CERTAIN AGREEMENTS ON TROOP SUPPORT TO SOMALIA. KHAIRAT, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, REPLIED THAT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES HE COULD CONCEIVE OF EGYPT CONSIDERING MILITARY TROOP DEPLOYMENTS -- CONTINGENCY PLANNING AFTERALL BIG PART OF MILITARY DOMAN -- HOWEVER KHAIRAT SAID THERE ARE NO RPT NO SUCH AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOMALIS.

17. COMMENT: I SOMETIMES WONDER WHETHER ANYONE UNDERSTANDS SOMALIS OR THEIR PRESENT LEADERS (SIC). PASTORAL DEMOCRATS AND FEROCIOUSLY INDEPENDENT THEY ARE. BUT TO SEIZE THIS MOMENT TO GAIN RECOGNITION FOR PLIGHT OF AGADEN NOMADS IN FACE OF AN EPMG INCREASINGLY SUPPLIED BY USSR (AIDED AND ABETTED BY CUBAN SURROGATES) OPENS MANY SERIOUS QUESTIONS.

CURRENT CROP JOURNALISTS IN TOWN ARE CONVINCED THAT MENGISTU'S MILITIA IS A DISCIPLINED AND FORMIDABLE FORCE AND THAT SAVE FOR THE ERITREAN SITUATION, EPMG CONFIDENT (WITH CUBA, RUSSIAN BACKING) CONTAINING AND OVERCOMING THE LIBERATION FRONTS IN WEST. THEY CONCLUDING THAT USSR PERCEIVES GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE 100 PERCENT PURE INTL'S SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISTS IN ETHIOPIA AND WILL USE EVERY RESOURCE AVAILABLE CONSOLIDATE THEIR DIPLOMACY. THEY DISCUSSED KRUSCHEV LESSON LEARNED IN CUBA BUT SEE NO PARALLEL UNDER BRESCHNEV AND BELIEVE SIAD OFF HIS "CAMEL RUSTLING NOMADIC ROCKER".

SIAD OBVIOUSLY COUNTING ON SAUDI ACCEPTANCE HIS GAME
PLAN WITH US ACQUIESCENCE OR INDIRECT INVOLVEMENT HIS STRATEGY.

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NONE OF THIS IS NEW TO WASHINGTON POLICY MAKERS. AND
WHETHER ONE BELIEVES OR DISBELIEVES AN AHMED SULEIMAN SPEAKING
TO US THROUGH THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR IS NOT REALLY THE ISSUE.
THE BASIC ISSUE IS HOW WE ARE TO CONDUCT A DIPLOMACY OF NON-
CONFRONTATION WITH THE USSR IN THE HORN, LIMITED BLOODSHED
BETWEEN IMPLACABLE ENEMIES OVER TERRITORIES CLEARLY NOT RPT NOT
A PART OF ETHIOPIA: THE OGADEN AND ERITREA, AND PERHAPS REVIW
DISPASSIONATELY AND CRITICALLY OUR OWN HISTORICAL ACTIONS IN
THIS AREA WHICH ALONG WITH ACTIONS BY FORMER EUROPEAN COLONIAL
POWERS HAVE A BEARING ON CURRENT SITUATION.

18. APOLOGIZE FOR LACK OF SUMMARY.
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Message Attributes

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Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
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Disposition Reason:
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TAGS: PINT, TC, US, SA, UR, GE, EG, UK, FR, IT, YE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/940ae76c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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